



**Fight
Back**

There is Hope

Manifesto
2019 Election

Message from the leader

Dear voter

We are on the eve of the most important election in the history of South Africa.

After 25 years of ANC governance the new South Africa has become stale. Our beautiful country and its people deserve better.

The FF Plus is the growing alternative that offers definitive solutions to the country's problems.

The FF Plus's team of members of parliament, members of provincial legislatures, municipal councillors, staff, activists and volunteers have proven that they serve their communities, are effective opposition, are good problem solvers and know how to govern as proven in the various multiparty governments in municipalities where we govern. We stand for truth and fight back for righteousness.

The ANC's policy direction is to blame for corruption, mismanagement, poor service delivery, unemployment, crime, race polarisation, discrimination, load shedding, pollution and extreme tax tariffs. There is a light at the end of this dark tunnel.

The FF Plus fights back against the policies and legislation that are hampering the future of the country.

The FF Plus's 2019-Manifesto is compiled from the party's policy framework and explains the concrete solutions the party offers.

The FF Plus Team is future-orientated, knowledgeable and passionate. We want to find solutions and build a better future.

If you are concerned about your children and your future, you need to become a part of this team.

Trust us with your vote; we will not disappoint. Every vote for the FF Plus, is a vote that builds the future.

See you at the polls on the 8th of May.



Pieter Groenewald

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Introduction

A quarter of a century under ANC governance – nothing but deterioration and despair

South Africa is teetering on the edge of ruin.

Crime is out of control with 57 South Africans murdered every day.¹ According to the most recent data available, South Africa has the fifth highest murder rate in the world.² At present, our murder rate is 36 people murdered per 100 000 of the population every year. If one compares this figure to war-torn countries, then South Africa verges on being a war zone. In a country like Somalia where war is currently raging, the murder rate is 38 and in both Iraq and Afghanistan it is 40.³ No economy will grow while violent crime is comparable to a war zone.

According to the United Nations (UN), the healthy norm for the ratio of citizens per police officer is 220 people. In South Africa, however, there are currently 383 citizens for every one police officer. It means that we have a shortage of 62 000 police officers. At present, we have only 194 000 officers for a population of 57,3million. These figures exclude the nearly 11 million undocumented migrants⁴.

Farm murders are a national crisis. More than 150 farmers per 100 000 of the population are murdered every year.⁵

So even though we are paying taxes, we have to spend extra money on private security to ensure our own safety.

Corruption is rampant on all levels of government. Billions of rand are stolen every year. It is a daily occurrence – it ranges from fraud and bribes of a few thousand rand to billions of rand. Contractors exploit the government as it does not pay market-related prices for goods and services. The ANC government tolerates this. Its cadres are enriched while the poor become even poorer and our taxes become higher and higher. It is estimated that South Africa lost R470 billion of the Gross domestic product (GDP) over the last five years due to corruption, mismanagement and thoughtless policy directions.⁶

At present, the government must borrow R1,2billion every weekday to make up its budget deficit which comprises 4,7% of the Gross domestic product (GDP). The interest on the debt already amounts to R209,4billion annually.⁷ The government's wage bill is exorbitant and South Africans' social needs are increasing year after year because economic growth is inadequate.

More than 17 million South Africans are dependent on social grants at the moment. There are more people dependent on these grants than there are people who have a job in South Africa. This unsustainable dependence increased with 328% from 2001 to 2016.⁸

¹ 'Crime Statistics 2017/18' South African Police Service

² 'Global Study on Homicide 2015' United Nations Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC)

³ 'South Africa crime: Can the country be compared to a 'war zone'?' *BBC News* 18 September 2018

⁴ 'SA has 'deficit' of 62 000 police officers – Sitole' *News24* 11 September 2018

⁵ 'Farmers 4.5 times more at risk of being murdered – AfriForum' *Times Live* 25 October 2017

⁶ 'Trimming state fat and cutting investor red tape two ways to rescue SA' Dennis Dyke (Nedbank) *Business Day* 19 February 2019

⁷ 'The 2019 Budget Review' National Treasury 21 February 2019

⁸ 'A call for social re-engineering?' *The Thinker* 2018

Unemployment has reached a critical point with 27,2% of the population being unemployed and unemployment among the youth is a national disaster. Approximately 52% of our country's youth is unemployed.⁹ South Africa's youth unemployment rate is the highest in the world.

The government's labour-restrictive legislation and policies are the root cause of large companies taking their factories and other business abroad, which results in fewer job opportunities in South Africa.

South Africa has the ninth highest tax-to-Gross-Domestic-Product-burden in the world.¹⁰ South Africans are being overtaxed to make up the budget deficits caused by the government's mismanagement and corruption.

Affirmative Action (AA), quotas and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) are being implemented with increased vigour. Race-based appointments and quotas threaten economic freedom and reduce the criteria used for appointments to nothing but race while expertise, abilities and experience are disregarded. Using skin colour as the criterion for empowerment is a manifold injustice.

Our natural resources and environment are being destroyed by an incompetent government with misguided priorities.

South Africa is also burdened by poor service delivery.

Our towns and cities are dirty.

There are very few competent public officials left who can actually do the work. And that is why health care, infrastructure, state-owned entities, departments and municipalities are all failing.

Expropriation without compensation threatens every South African's right to owning property and it reduces white South Africans, particularly farmers, to thieves who stole the land or property currently in their possession.

After Parliament adopted a motion in favour of the process of making expropriation without compensation possible, the agricultural sector contracted with 29,2 % during the second quarter of 2018.¹¹ The ANC and EFF's populist approach to land is destroying South Africa's agricultural sector and food security.

The ANC is looking for a scapegoat to blame for everything that is wrong in South Africa; for all its own failures and for the country's overall deterioration. The party uses white people as the scapegoat and is trying to retain its supporters by blaming white people and apartheid for all the crises in the country. Racial polarisation is used for short-term political gain.

South Africa deserves better

The ANC government has shown over the last 25 years that it does not deserve to govern this beautiful country and its people. Its recipe for nation building since 1994 flopped.

South Africans truly deserve a new South Africa that will benefit all its people.

⁹ 'Quarterly Labour Force Survey' StatsSA 30 October 2018

¹⁰ 'Mike Schussler: The burden of truth' *Financial Mail* 21 February 2019

¹¹ 'Gross Domestic Product (GDP), 2nd Quarter 2018' StatsSA 4 September 2018

Premise: "A man's heart plans his way, but the Lord directs his steps"

The FF Plus aspires to a political system based on Christian values that is characterised by the principles of justice, truth, love of one's neighbour, respect for life, loyalty and a peaceful co-existence.

There is hope

The people of South Africa should unite in a new vision for the future. A vision where you once again take control of your future. A future based on the values of integrity, honesty, hard work, mutual respect and neighbourly love. Such values have always been the steady foundation for the creation of a future of peace, safety and prosperity.

The FF Plus's 2019 Election Manifesto proposes feasible solutions that offer hope to build a better future.

A new dispensation

Build rather than redistributing and discriminating

At present, the government's objective is to try and relieve poverty and create wealth merely by distributing wealth; it will not work. And owing to the policy directions associated with this objective, economic growth does not take place and poverty and unemployment are on the rise.

Affirmative Action, or rather race-based action, is leaving a trail of economic destruction behind.

The FF Plus admits that some people who have abundant potential were unable to reach their full potential due to shortcomings in the systems. These people deserve active support, but it should not be to the detriment of other people. To blindly enforce racial quotas is a manifold injustice.

Skin colour cannot be used as a generalised indication of being disadvantaged and therefore, skin colour can also not be used as a condition for empowerment. Socio-economic conditions, like poverty, unemployment and a lack of access to quality education should rather be used as the criteria for empowerment.

Some people are currently appointed in positions for which they are simply not equipped. It puts those people under immense pressure and leads to unproductiveness. And then there are also extremely competent black people who would excel in any environment, but they have a cloud of distrust hanging over their heads: was this possibly an Affirmative Action appointment?

A new generation of embittered individuals is forming among Afrikaners, coloured and other non-black people. People who qualify for support according to any means test and exhibit the potential to perform well are overlooked based on their race. It was a similar bitterness that provided the impetus for the ANC's power struggle. The FF Plus does not want to see the significant lessons learnt from the past come to nothing and that is why the party strives to prevent history from repeating itself by advocating for equal opportunities for all South Africans.

While the ANC is intensifying the conditions of "Affirmative Action", with the support of other opposition parties, the FF Plus stands firm in the belief that it must be abolished.

The obvious victims of Affirmative Action are white and coloured people who have lost their jobs or who cannot find a job because their skin colour is wrong. The victims who go unnoticed are all those

who would have been able to get a job or get a better job, who would have benefited from better service delivery and improved living conditions if the economy as a whole performed better and if competent people were appointed to ensure improved service delivery for all.

The government's objective and policy directions must be focused on building a better future rather than on transformation and redistribution. Economic growth must be the number one priority. If there is sustainable economic growth, there will be more funds available to meet social needs, but because economic growth also results in more job creation, less people will be dependent on the state's social functions.

At the moment, though, economic growth is restricted by the government's policy directions, mismanagement and poor service delivery. In order to ensure policy certainty, effective government and adequate infrastructure development it is imperative to create a favourable environment for the private sector to invest, to create jobs and to stimulate economic growth.

A small, effective government

South Africa's public service is huge, clumsy and according to international standards, public officials are paid too much. It is the result of centralist thinking founded on the ANC's communist ideology.

We must fight back and demand good governance. A small, effective government characterised by hard work and appointments based on merit.

An FF Plus government would be much smaller. In accordance with international best practices, the present Cabinet will be condensed to 16 portfolios, each with only one minister and at most one deputy minister at the steer of things.

- President
- Deputy President
- Minister of Finance
- Minister of Home Affairs
- Minister of Foreign Affairs
- Minister of Defence
- Minister of Health
- Minister of Labour
- Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries
- Minister of Education, Arts and Culture
- Minister of Trade, Industry and Tourism
- Minister of Justice and Correctional Services
- Minister of Police
- Minister of Community Development and Land Affairs
- Minister of Water, Sanitation, Human Settlements and Environmental Affairs
- Minister of Transport, Public Services and Administration
- Minister of Telecommunications, Science and Technology
- Minister of Energy and Mineral Resources

Each member of Cabinet will be an expert in his or her field.

The ministerial textbook needs to be revised in order to restrict the costs related to ministers and deputy ministers.

Cost-savings measures must be implemented even on the lowest level. The current situation where the public service is the greatest employer in the country and employees are paid more than those in the private sector is simply not sustainable. Ultimately, the state coffers will not be able to carry the costs and that brings us closer to the fiscal edge of ruin.

Authority resides on the lowest possible level

A federal characteristic of the South African Constitution is our country's nine provinces. Little of it realises, though, because the tone for ANC provinces is set by Luthuli House and not by the province itself. A province governed by opposition parties finds that national departments often overstep their jurisdiction there.

The FF Plus supports the principle of subsidiarity. It means that all authority should reside and be executed on the lowest possible level of government. Provinces only perform those tasks that municipalities are unable to and national government performs only those tasks that provinces are unable to. It serves to promote participation and enrich democracy.

Service delivery must be handled on local and provincial level, while the national government is only responsible for setting the minimum requirements and coordinating activities.

Poor governance and infighting, characteristic of the ANC-controlled provincial governments, must be eradicated. The FF Plus representatives in every Provincial Legislature will endeavour to either bring the ANC to a fall by means of a coalition or to keep a very close watch on things.

The key point of the FF Plus's policy is to transform South Africa from a territorial state to one where communities are the fundamental units and where the government acts merely as a commonwealth of communities. In order to achieve that, republican thinking must be revived.

A true democratic republic cannot be a large state where elections are the only form of public participation. The republic must be structured in such a way that it facilitates a citizenry with shared values that can govern the commonwealth in a meaningful way.

Decisions are made on the lowest possible level, while higher governmental levels are responsible for corrections – it will, therefore, be possible to appeal against a decision on a higher level if a citizen feels that all the relevant factors were not taken into consideration.

Revise local government

The local government system must be revised. The local community must be the most basic level of government.

The ANC government's greatest failure is the terrible condition of our municipalities. Service delivery has collapsed and most municipalities are basically bankrupt and unsustainable.

Towns and regions have been merged to form large municipalities or metro councils, but the only thing that has improved is the remuneration of councillors and top officials.

It will be nearly impossible to realise the FF Plus ideal of subsidiarity as long as municipal councils remain the most incompetent of all levels of government. The problem is not that too much authority resides on local level, but too little.

Municipal regions have become so large that there is no real governance on ground level. And on top of that, the ANC is using municipalities for the deployment of cadres.

Local municipalities should comprise a single town. There is no evidence to show that the system of merged municipalities that was implemented since 2001 is in any way beneficial, except for the small elite consisting of councillors and top officials.

Communities

Communities should become more locally focused and more "homeish" – a concept referring to a rich community life where public participation entails much more than periodic elections; where community members are able to directly participate in government activities.

This type of community would be strengthened by, for instance, having ownership of and managing its own energy provision locally. It would stimulate economic activities that are aimed at local wealth creation rather than generating profits for worldwide corporations.

In regard to self-determination, the FF Plus endeavours to establish autonomy for a cultural community across the entire country concerning matters like education, elderly care, sport, heritage conservation and the like.

Community councils, for example an Afrikaner Council, must be established for communities that are spread out across the country.

Such a council must have control of the relevant community's education, heritage conservation and social care. Worldwide, these are considered the basic aspects in which national minorities can exercise self-determination. A legal framework must be established for purpose-driven communities.

In practice it would mean that the governing bodies of all schools, social institutions (for example, old-age homes and children's homes) and heritage institutions (for example, museums and heritage sites) can decide whether or not it wants to reside under the authority of the government or the community council.

This is not racial segregation. A traditional Afrikaner school may not be interested in falling under the administration of the Afrikaner Council, but a coloured school might. Everyone has the right to choose.

Such a Council will enable Afrikaners to exercise their cultural rights regardless of where they live.

In this way a republican government can be re-established over time in the face of the current tyranny of the majority.

Self-determination

We are desperately in need of a new dispensation where diversity in South Africa is recognised as the true building blocks of true unity in diversity. A dispensation founded on mutual respect, without discrimination and racism, with equal opportunities and recognition for that which is our own and that which is shared. Thus, a dispensation where self-determination is correctly implemented. As evident in the rest of the world, this approach is not in conflict with a constitutional or liberal democracy. Quite the contrary, it is considered to be the latest and most modern political trend.

Federalism, locality, subsidiarity and self-determination, as it is implemented internationally, are all essential building blocks for such a political model. Regionally bound autonomy, such as in provinces, must be expanded.

Policy that offers solutions

State expenditure, taxes and the economy

South Africa currently finds itself in an unprecedented economic crisis due to the ANC government's mismanagement and transgressions.

Due to limited job opportunities and little economic growth, there is a small tax base and yet great social expenditure. This coupled with the government's exorbitant wage bill leads to excessive government debt along with interest on that debt and ultimately it is pushing the country closer and closer to the fiscal edge of ruin.

The fiscal dilemma is that everyone wants to pay as little tax as possible while benefiting from as much state expenditure as possible.

These opposing needs move governments to spend more than they collect; and then they borrow the deficit from the capital market. In this way government debt keeps increasing and ultimately it can consume the entire budget.

With regard to tax collection, the South African Revenue Service (SARS) narrowly escaped death, so to speak. The FF Plus policy of making appointments based on merit will prevent this from happening again.

The FF Plus is convinced that only the free market can fully unlock, create, promote and protect economic value. The cornerstone of the free market is private property rights, without which there will be no incentive for trade.

State expenditure must be curtailed in the following ways:

- **All state-owned entities must be privatised through a mix of partial sales and full sales. The SAA and Eskom are the first on the list to be privatised;**
- **public service appointments must be made solely based on merit;**
- **revise the salary scales of senior management positions;**
- **limit public officials' performance bonuses;**
- **limit salary increases to no higher than the inflation rate;**
- **eradicate corruption; and**
- **reduce the size of the public service and have fewer offices of ministry.**

The government may not spend more than it collects through taxes. This will force the government to implement policies that will stimulate the economy to grow. Any deficit in the budget can only be supplemented with debt if the deficit is at least equal to capital expenditure.

The FF Plus will establish a fiscal commission that will function very much like the South African Reserve Bank does at the moment. An upper limit for state expenditure will be formulated. When that limit is reached, the fiscal commission will have the capacity to increase VAT. Once the threat passes, the VAT rate can be lowered again.

No one wants to pay more tax, but just as interest rates can either stimulate or restrict private expenditure, VAT can do the same for state expenditure.

VAT must rather be used as a fair instrument to supplement budget deficits. VAT broadens the tax base and VAT is fair precisely because everyone will pay more. On the other side of the company spectrum though, more funds will be made available to better provide for social needs.

Personal and company tax need to be lowered in order to stimulate investment in the economy and create jobs.

The fuel levy must be decreased significantly and may only be used for road and other means of transport infrastructure development. The Road Accident Fund must be done away with. Every motor vehicle owner must be compelled by legislation to take out third-party insurance.

Other tariffs and levies must also be adjusted downwards to stimulate consumer expenditure and the economy.

The same goes for the controversial e-toll system in Gauteng. The FF Plus is of the view that the e-toll system was characterised by poor agreements, which lead to unnecessarily large payments being made to foreign service providers. Although the improved roads promote the economy on the one hand, the e-toll system suppresses it again on the other hand. The FF Plus maintains that this system must be abolished.

The collection of taxes may possibly be undermined in the future by the rise in private currencies (sometimes referred to as cryptocurrencies). Thus, the government will have to earn its revenue rather than collect it.

- **Limit state expenditure.**
- **Privatise state-owned entities, like the SAA.**
- **Offer tax relief to individuals and businesses.**
- **Establish a fiscal commission that will, among other things, adjust the VAT rate.**
- **Appoint experts at SARS.**
- **Do away with the Road Accident Fund and replace it with legislation that compels motor vehicle owners to take out third-party insurance.**
- **Decrease the fuel levy and use it only for transport infrastructure development.**
- **Abolish e-toll.**
- **The government must earn tax; not collect it.**

Economic empowerment, social development and poverty eradication

The policy of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) resulted in black elite empowerment whereby wealth was redistributed rather than created. The FF Plus is of the opinion that wealth cannot be created by distributing it.

BEE resulted in assets being handed out to specific black individuals instead of stimulating entrepreneurship and community upliftment.

Economic empowerment in South Africa must not be aimed at the enrichment of certain individuals, but rather the true empowerment of entire communities.

Skin colour cannot be used as a generalised indication of being previously disadvantaged and therefore, skin colour can also not be used as a condition for empowerment. Socio-economic conditions, like poverty, unemployment and a lack of access to quality education must rather be used as the criteria for empowerment.

Growth and development are the only sustainable methods of empowerment.

Poverty is a national problem that affects a very large part of our society. Through the years, it has become evident that involving an entire community in eradicating poverty is the most effective form of poverty relief. Thus, the FF Plus strives to promote community-based social services. The party

rejects the use of racial quotas and recommends that a means test must be used in the allocation of state funding to social service organisations.

- **Development of independent local economies.**
- **Poverty as basis for empowerment.**
- **Using growth and development, rather than racial targets, as methods of empowerment.**
- **Special economic zones that are not subject to Affirmative Action, empowerment and restrictive labour laws.**
- **Community-based social services.**

Women and children rights and people with disabilities

The FF Plus supports women's rights but knows that these rights can only be exercised in practice if women are empowered by means of training and the creation of equal opportunities. The FF Plus is committed to this.

Most victims of rape, molestation and domestic violence are too afraid to report these incidents to the police due to intimidation.

In many cases, the police's handling of these cases falls short and victims are not offered proper protection.

The criminal justice system has failed many victims as they are often expected to testify in an open court. Due to the poor handling of these cases, the errors made in transferring dossiers between the police and the National Prosecuting Authority, the incompleteness of investigations, the integrity of evidence and testimonies that are not handled properly or with the necessary care, the prosecution of these cases are often unsuccessful.

These shortcomings in the system cause a low report rate for these offences and, thus, many sexual offenders are on the loose and gender-based violence is endemic.

The FF Plus supports all measures aimed at protecting women, children and other vulnerable citizens against abuse and mistreatment.

The inadequate funding of non-profit organisations, like children's homes and homes for people with disabilities, constitutes a violation of the basic human rights of the most vulnerable individuals in our society.

The state subsidies paid to children's homes are particularly inadequate. In some provinces, the subsidy comes down to only R17 per child per day. Seeing as these children's homes are tasked with taking care of homeless children who have been placed in the state's care by the court, it is unacceptable that many of these homes are on the verge of closing their doors.

People with disabilities must be empowered through appropriate training opportunities and their rights must be protected. Granting blind and deaf individuals access to education and communication with state institutions by means of braille and sign language must be a priority.

- **Actual equal opportunities must be promoted and not an artificial system of empowerment.**
- **Measures that will encourage the reporting of incidences of gender-based violence and that will offer victims proper protection must be implemented.**

- **The policing and prosecution of violence against women and children must be prioritised.**
- **State funding of non-profit organisations, like children's homes and homes for the elderly and people with disabilities, must be increased.**

Job creation

Rigid labour legislation is one of the biggest obstacles on the road of economic growth and job creation in South Africa. Not only is it difficult to dismiss incompetent individuals, but transformation targets must also be continually met.

The FF Plus will abolish transformation targets and Black Economic Empowerment. That will encourage the private sector to appoint the best person for the job, which will in turn promote economic growth.

The demand for schooled labour, as found in the open market, is the best mechanism to ensure that all citizens are empowered with expertise, skills and work ethics.

Unemployment must be addressed at once. No government can sustainably keep creating jobs on its own. Thus, the FF Plus is convinced that unemployment can only be overcome if government policies are amended to create an environment that is conducive to job creation and investment.

Jobs cannot be created by means of legislation. Legislation aimed at limiting unemployment will only result in further over-regulation, which is not at all favourable for sustainable job creation.

The FF Plus has a five-point plan to combat unemployment, and in particular youth unemployment:

- 1. Labour legislation must be amended so as to promote job creation while still maintaining fair labour practices.**
- 2. Strikes and particularly illegal strikes that lead to the loss of hundreds of thousands of job opportunities must be prohibited. Trade unions' power must be restricted and any irresponsible actions that lead to the loss of jobs must be prohibited by legislation.**
- 3. Race-based Affirmative Action and unfair Black Economic Empowerment must be terminated. These policies have failed all South Africans and the youth in particular. Only a small elite benefits while poverty and unemployment are rife.**
- 4. The FF Plus is in favour of a youth wage subsidy, implemented correctly and fairly, as it will help to address these challenges effectively. The FF Plus proposes the following conditions for the implementation thereof:**
 - **The subsidy must not be subject to Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment measures. Unemployment does not discriminate based on race.**
 - **A balance must be maintained between the funds allocated for these subsidies and those allocated for bursaries and training.**
 - **The youth wage subsidy must also make provision for promoting in-service training.**
 - **The dismissal of older, experienced employees must be avoided.**
- 5. Education and training must equip the youth for the workplace. At present, more than 80% of learners who have completed their school training are not properly trained or prepared for the workplace. Training institutions that train professionals must be accessible and have the necessary resources to equip the youth to enter the labour force and must also encourage entrepreneurship.**

This policy is aimed at transforming the South African population from one that is dependent on social grants to one that functions as the drive behind the country's economic growth.

Our country and the rest of the African continent possess a demographic dividend that will pay out in the next few years as we have a young population that can be employed to bring about large-scale growth. So, let us employ our youth to ensure growth – let us leave racial discrimination in the past where it belongs and let us focus on the future and development.

Education

Quality education depends on a new educational culture; a culture of hard work, high standards and honesty is what is needed. The FF Plus also considers good work ethic among teachers and lecturers to be of the utmost importance. The trade unions with a tradition of destruction must be brought under control.

Trade unions for teachers in the basic education environment must be replaced by a conciliation and arbitration system with the aim of addressing the problems of mass strikes and undisciplined teachers, particularly in less affluent schools where learners need more focused attention.

Schools must be places of safety. The FF Plus believes that all forms of protest actions and marches in the immediate vicinity of schools must be prohibited.

Teachers who are willing to work at less affluent schools must receive higher remuneration and all teachers must be eligible for performance bonuses, with higher bonuses for teachers working at less affluent schools.

The FF Plus proposes a system of parent- and community-driven mother-tongue education. Communities must be enabled to establish community schools with the support of the relevant authorities.

According to the education budget, the projected cost per learner must be paid to the school preferred by the parent. This can be administrated by means of a system of educational coupons that are issued to parents who can then hand the coupons in at the school of their choice. Such a system will ensure that learners, and not schools, are subsidised and it will afford their parents the opportunity to choose between public schools, more independent community schools or even home schooling.

Community councils that can demonstrate the ability to do so, must be given the right to act as an education department across provincial boundaries.

Every school must be able to exercise the right to choose whether it wants to fall under the administration of the provincial Department of Education or the administration of a community council. Every school must also be able to exercise the right to choose whether it wants to follow the assessment guidelines as put forward by the Department of Education or the guidelines of any one of the two registered assessment bodies in South Africa.

Parents who prefer to home school their children must have the right to do so as long as they can prove that they possess the necessary skills, knowledge and learning aids. External exams written at the end of Grade 9 and Grade 12 can be used to monitor the quality of home schooling.

Neglecting mother-tongue education contributes to poor performance and a high drop-out rate. The fact that Afrikaans- and English-speaking learners receive instruction in their mother tongue explains why a larger percentage of these Grade 1 learners go on to complete Grade 12. Even on tertiary level,

mother-tongue education has measurable benefits. Thus, the foundation of the FF Plus's educational policy is that all learners must have access to mother-tongue education – it will, of course, not be forced on anyone.

Early childhood development is of the utmost importance and must be the responsibility of the Department of Education and not the Department of Social Development. At present, South Africa's expenditure on this phase of education is one of the lowest in the world. The most important formative years in a child's life are between the ages of zero to four years as that is when the brain develops the fastest. If proper development does not occur during these formative years, children may struggle in school later on. Quality early childhood development training will improve learners' performance in school and address the problem of a poor throughput rate.

Bursaries for learners who perform well must be allocated based on merit and financial need in cooperation with various private industries on the condition that for every year of study, the student must work one year for the relevant company.

- **Offer mother-tongue education up to the highest possible level.**
- **Subsidise learners rather than schools.**
- **Prioritise early childhood development.**
- **Community schools with the support of the relevant authorities.**
- **A high standard of education that is internationally competitive.**
- **Prohibit all forms of marches and protest actions near schools.**

Language rights and multilingualism

The FF Plus views every language as infinitely more than just a medium of communication. A language is like a home. If one is deprived of your mother tongue, you are essentially left homeless, your human dignity is affected and you are left disorientated.

The fact that our official languages are not used publicly constitutes a violation of our Constitution and it is detrimental to race relations.

Thus, the FF Plus advocates the recognition and development of all South Africa's indigenous languages. It is a myth that a language will survive as long as it is spoken. The reality is that there are languages that disappear on a daily basis because they do not have the power and the means to hold their own in the face of more dominant languages.

The conservation and development of the higher functions of South Africa's 11 official languages must be prioritised. Thus, for example, the mediums of education, should be expanded to include more languages instead of being reduced or anglicised. Educational experts from across the world agree that mother-tongue education promotes academic performance.

At present, Afrikaans as medium of instruction is under severe attack.

Afrikaans is one of the few languages that went through the entire process of modernisation during the twentieth century and it can, therefore, offer valuable support and guidance to other language communities that want to do the same. The survival of Afrikaans paves the way for the survival of other indigenous languages.

The FF Plus condemns the creeping language imperialism of Anglophiles who want to subdue indigenous languages to English in the name of global trade and traffic particularly in the field of education, but also in public institutions and state departments.

- **More schools and universities must be built and measures must be implemented to execute the Constitution's provision that everyone has the right to receive instruction in the official language of his/her choice.**
- **Language rights must be clearly formulated in legislation because the interpretation of vague provisions results in the violation of constitutional rights, which are then only symbolic.**

Agriculture

Agriculture in South Africa is threatened by an unreliable climate; increasing production costs; a lack of government support in the form of relevant research, disaster relief and sensible tariff protection; excessively violent and cruel farm attacks as well as the policy direction of expropriation without compensation.

The FF Plus's policy is that the utilisation of biological resources must be approached in keeping with how the world unfolds. The cultural value that various cultural groups (including the Afrikaners) ascribe to land, forests and fisheries must be recognised. At the same time, the need for food security and the role that commercial agriculture plays in it must also be recognised. Tariff protection, research, disaster relief and the creation of infrastructure must benefit all these groups.

The FF Plus supports greater state expenditure on agricultural research to ensure that institutions like the Agricultural Research Council and the Water Research Commission place South Africa at the forefront of research relating to scarce resources.

As a primary industry in the economy, agriculture plays an important role in job creation, food production and the generation of revenue so it should be valued by government.

The agricultural sector must be protected against tariff and subsidy benefits of international role players and the dumping of substandard imported agricultural products.

Disaster relief, like drought relief, must be properly managed and must be used to assist all food producers during natural disasters. Land Bank must offer all producers interest-free short-term loans in times of financial need caused by such disasters.

The FF Plus insists that a social, economic and political environment that will help commercial farmers ensure food security must be established.

- **Tariff protection, research, disaster relief and the creation of infrastructure to benefit all farmers.**

Land Affairs

The FF Plus understands the emotional impact that landownership has on all South Africans. Thus, land must not be viewed through a commercial lens. Afrikaners want the assurance that a part of African soil belongs to them too.

The FF Plus is strongly opposed to expropriation without compensation and is of the opinion that there is enough land available for redistribution, but that administrative stalling is causing delays to the detriment of the country.

The FF Plus holds the view that land that has been beneficiated through land reform projects, of which 90% have failed and unused state-owned land should be redistributed immediately and after that, the

principle of "willing seller, willing buyer" must be followed. In the case of expropriation in the public interest, the compensation must be market related.

The FF Plus opposes the notion that the Minister of Land Affairs has the power to expropriate property and believes that such power should reside with a high court seeing as there are fundamental constitutional rights at play.

Land claims must be finalised as soon as possible because it creates uncertainty which hinders development in the agricultural sector.

Land is used as a populist political weapon. The myth that owning land creates wealth is rejected by the FF Plus.

South Africa cannot allow arable fertile land to become unproductive because our population increases every year and quite soon approximately 70% of our population will be urbanised and will need food on a daily basis. Food security is a cornerstone of stability.

Land reform projects have become a breeding ground for corruption. The FF Plus is of the opinion that land that is redistributed in the aforementioned ways must be transferred to the beneficiaries. The beneficiaries must be in possession of the title deeds of the land. The government's involvement in these projects must be kept to a minimum and partnerships between emerging farmers and commercial farmers should rather be established.

- **Use unused state-owned land for land reform.**
- **Beneficiaries of land reform must actually own the land.**
- **Protect private property rights.**
- **The power to expropriate must reside with a high court and expropriation in the public interest must be accompanied by market-related compensation.**

Policing

Crime remains a serious threat to us all. For that reason, the police service must be headed by professionally trained officers. Under ANC rule, top positions in the service were often filled by people from outside the police force to the detriment of South Africa and all its citizens. It is discouraging to have to admit that young police officers will never reach the top rung, regardless of their competence.

However, the FF Plus honours all police officers who are loyal and fearless in carrying out their duties, despite the difficult conditions and poor prospects. The party strongly condemns the behaviour of certain police officers (often deployed cadres) who consider themselves to be above the law and who abuse their position for personal gain as well as the brutality that often accompanies these transgressions. The party insists that the police service must be allowed to serve and protect without any political interference but still within proper disciplinary norms.

The police service is responsible for maintaining law and order in a fair and decisive manner; preventing crime; tracking down offenders and bringing them before the court; protecting and calming the community should law and order be disrupted and in carrying out all these duties, it must demonstrate that it is a professional organisation characterised by integrity, common sense and good judgement.

Ineffective policing results in citizens having to pay extra for a basic service that ought to be provided by the authorities. More and more private security companies are springing up.

Violent crime, aided by the trade in illegal firearms, occurs on a daily basis and claims thousands of lives each year. Better policing of illegal firearms is needed.

The FF Plus remains steadfast in its belief that competent and properly trained citizens have the right to own firearms and that they may use these weapons for self-defence should the situation warrant such action.

Farm murders remain a crisis and the death rate shows that at present, it is more dangerous to be a farmer in South Africa than a police officer. The agricultural community is left vulnerable as the government's rural safety plan is failing due to a shortage of human and other resources. Rural safety must prevent farm attacks and other rural crimes, like the theft of livestock.

The massacre of innocent children, caught in the crossfire of gangs, has reached shocking levels and the police can no longer merely promise to take action while gang violence rages on. Drug trafficking is a great source of income for gangs and, therefore, decisive action must be taken to eradicate it. Well-coordinated cooperation between the police and the prosecuting authority is vital for ensuring that arrests for gang-related offences are followed by the successful prosecution of the offenders.

Due to the poor handling of criminal cases, the errors made in transferring dossiers between the police and the National Prosecuting Authority, the incompleteness of investigations, the integrity of evidence and testimonies that are not handled properly or with the necessary care, the prosecution is often unsuccessful.

The FF Plus believes that the causes of poor policing must be resolved. The solution lies in the institutionalisation of effective policing, in other words, the optimisation of all the existing processes, functions and resources to achieve the overarching goal of good policing. That does not require more and more resources, but rather the improved distribution and utilisation of resources which will result in a better outcome.

- **Restore the integrity and functionality of the police service by getting rid of corrupt officials, not making politically-motivated appointments and by offering promotions based on expertise and experience.**
- **Private expenditure on safety must be deductible from tax.**
- **Establish an effective crime intelligence unit focused on the prevention of crime without infringing on citizens' rights.**
- **Specialised units for violent crime and to address the illegal firearms trade.**
- **Protect competent citizens' right to own a firearm.**
- **Farm attacks must be declared a priority crime and adequate resources must be allocated to rural safety.**
- **The police's rural safety plan must involve and empower private rural safety networks.**
- **Well-coordinated cooperation between the police, local authorities, specialist units and the NPA is needed to combat gang-related violence.**
- **Decisive action must be taken against drug trafficking by, for instance, effectively intercepting drugs smuggled across our country's borders.**
- **Investigative units must be empowered with the necessary expertise and care must be taken to ensure that the prosecution of offenders is not unsuccessful due to the incorrect handling of evidence.**

Health

At the moment, South Africa has a public health care sector that has a footprint in even the smallest of settlements, but that is characterised by poor provision and a lack of expertise. On the other hand, the private health care sector maintains world-class standards, but is expensive and inaccessible.

The FF Plus believes that the biggest challenge in public health care is not a lack of money but a lack of expertise. Mismanagement and corruption have destroyed our health care institutions.

The obsession with transformation means that even more expertise is forced out of the sector – so much so that thousands of our health care practitioners are working abroad.

The FF Plus will establish cooperation between the public and private health care sectors so that expertise and facilities can be shared. The main objective will not be transformation, but good, accessible health care for all citizens. Sound management practices must be implemented at all hospitals and clinics. Only people with managerial experience must be appointed as chief executive officers at hospitals.

The FF Plus condemns the over-regulation of the medical aid industry whereby the funds are taxed excessively and the nett tax burden on individuals is increased.

The medical aid industry and private medical services industry are crucial partners in offering good quality health care services in South Africa.

The FF Plus will endeavour to establish a national partnership between private and public medical services that will still leave enough space for both of these industries to function without any unnecessary restrictions in the interest of a healthier population.

Public health care infrastructure must first be upgraded before a National Health Insurance Scheme (NHI) can be considered. The NHI cannot be used for these upgrades. In the short term, the planned NHI must be terminated at once.

The FF Plus believes that the HIV/AIDS pandemic can only be effectively addressed if medical interventions are accompanied by comprehensive social re-orientation.

- **Terminate the process of implementing a NHI.**
- **Upgrade public health care infrastructure.**
- **Appoint experts.**
- **Stop the over-regulation of the medical aid industry.**
- **Establish a mutually beneficial partnership between private and public medical service providers.**

Foreign affairs

The FF Plus is committed to preserving human rights not only in South Africa, but also worldwide.

The FF Plus insists that South Africa's foreign relations may no longer be influenced by the countries that loyally supported the ANC before 1994. If one considers those countries' own human rights track records, it is clear that they were more interested in holding sway over South Africa than in the democratic rights of South African citizens.

The ANC government's foreign relations exhibit numerous contradictions. The FF Plus demands clarity and guidelines that the government itself is also willing to follow.

Africa must obviously play a central role in South African foreign policy, but not to such an extent that diplomatic or military influence is used to keep governments that have no merit in power. The foreign policy should reinforce South Africa's central role in Africa.

The FF Plus will build foreign relations on mutual respect with preference for countries that promote self-determination within their own borders and countries with which South Africa already has or can establish strong trade ties.

A two-state solution is proposed for Israel and Palestine. It is, after all, irrational to advocate self-determination for Palestinians but not for Israelis.

New alliances must be formed without destroying the ones already in place.

- **A clear foreign relations policy based on mutual respect that will benefit South Africa.**
- **Reinforce South Africa's central role in Africa.**
- **Support a two-state solution for Israel and Palestine.**
- **Form new alliances without alienating exiting allies.**

Defence

The quality of a defence force is determined by its equipment and its people. South Africa falls short in regard to both of these. The country's military force deteriorated significantly as a result of long-term financial shortages and neglect due to poor maintenance. However, an even more serious problem is the lack of expertise and discipline in the defence force. At the moment, the only thing that counts in South Africa's favour is the fact that there is no obvious and immediate foreign threat.

The FF Plus will combine the difficult task of re-establishing competence in the military force with enforcing strict discipline. The aim is to have a professional defence force that has the will and the ability to effectively defend our country. Within fiscal limitations, equipment and weaponry will once again be procured.

- **Establish a competent and disciplined defence force.**
- **Procure equipment and weaponry within fiscal limitations.**

Border control and immigration

The FF Plus demands effective border control. The integrity of our country's borders must be restored. "Soft" borders result in an influx of people when there is an increase in economic pressure elsewhere in Africa. It also means that domestic goods, like rhino horns, and foreign goods, like firearms and drugs, can move across our borders. It also makes it easier for ruthless traders to avoid tariffs that are implemented to protect the local economy.

Immigration is a natural process and every country tries to manage it in such a way that it is beneficial. For that to happen, immigrants must possess knowledge and skills that are scarce in the recipient country. However, due to poor border control, including corruption, South Africa is the recipient of large numbers of illegal immigrants whose potential to contribute to the country has not been assessed. These illegal immigrants put immense pressure on already scarce resources, such as, water, health care, job opportunities and other social services. This is to the detriment of South African taxpayers.

- **Effective border control that restores the integrity of our country's borders.**
- **Effective consequence management with regards to corrupt officials.**

- **The movement of drugs, rhino horns and illegal weapons across our borders must be stopped.**
- **Address illegal immigration.**

Sustainable development and the environment

Climate change is a reality and the increase in the intensity of droughts and floods is detrimental to South Africa.

Whatever the cause may be, the solution is not only to limit carbon emissions, but also to increase the binding thereof. Here the FF Plus's policy on energy plays a central role.

The country must move away from utilising energy sources that are destructive to the environment, like coal.

The harvesting, storing and distribution of renewable energy must be our focus. Under-developed parts of South Africa, like the Northern and Western Cape, are ideally positioned for an energy revolution.

Our policy not only entails substituting coal power stations with renewable energy power plants, but also replacing petrol- and diesel-powered transport with electric transport. Under the leadership of the FF Plus, South Africa will be on the forefront of renewable energy development.

Households and businesses that convert to using alternative energy sources, like solar panels, must enjoy tax discounts.

The environment must also be protected through the effective policing of pollution and other violations of the relevant legislation. The law enforcers (the Green Scorpions) must be properly equipped and empowered to fulfil this function.

At the moment, the government itself is responsible for the greatest pollution of our water sources because sewage plants are not functional as a result of mismanagement. South Africa is also losing billions of litres of water because water infrastructure was not maintained.

Infrastructure must be urgently upgraded and regular maintenance work must be done.

When government is responsible for pollution or when it violates legislation, the relevant official who is accountable must be criminally prosecuted.

- **Prioritise the utilisation of renewable energy.**
- **Tax discounts for individuals and businesses that make use of alternative energy sources.**
- **Utilise the under-developed parts of South Africa, like the Northern and Western Cape, for harvesting renewable energy.**
- **Reinforce the Green Scorpions.**

Conclusion

Summary of solutions

The FF Plus's Election Manifesto and its Policy Framework propose the following solutions for South Africa's most pressing problems:

1. Abolish race-based Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment; use socio-economic conditions as criteria for empowerment and promote equal opportunities for all.
2. Exercise the internationally recognised constitutional right to self-determination.
3. Establish community councils.
4. Establish a smaller local government system with more locally-focused functioning.
5. Afford provinces more autonomy.
6. Cut state expenditure; privatise state-owned entities; increase state revenue by stimulating growth; offer tax relief; establish a fiscal commission.
7. Develop independent, local economies where poverty serves as the criterion for empowerment and growth and development are seen as the only sustainable methods of empowerment; establish special economic zones.
8. Address the shortcomings of the criminal justice system to bring endemic rape to an end.
9. Amend restrictive labour legislation so as to promote job creation while still maintaining fair labour practices; create a favourable environment for the private sector to create more jobs; put an end to the unsustainable practice of the government creating jobs.
10. A high standard of education where mother-tongue education is accessible to all; mother-tongue education must be parent and community driven and must be offered on the highest possible level.
11. Promote language rights and multilingualism.
12. Tariff protection, research, disaster relief and the creation of infrastructure must benefit subsistence and commercial farmers.
13. Protect private property rights.
14. Quality health care where expertise rather than transformation is prioritised; stop the over-regulation of medical aid schemes; upgrade public health care infrastructure; establish cooperation between the public and private health care sectors.
15. Build foreign relations on mutual respect and give preference to countries with which South Africa already has or can establish strong trade ties.
16. Effective border control that restores the integrity of our country's borders and that brings the movement of illegal goods, like firearms and drugs, across our borders as well as illegal immigration to an end.
17. The country must move away from utilising energy sources that are destructive to the environment; prioritise renewable energy; tax discounts for individuals and businesses that make use of alternative energy sources.

Five focus areas

This Manifesto proposes solutions relating to the five focus areas of the FF Plus's election campaign.

1. Fight back against expropriation without compensation

- Stop the ongoing process to amend the Constitution so as to make the expropriation of property without compensation possible.
- Protect everyone's right to private ownership of property.
- Protect the rights of farmers.
- Oppose the myth that white people stole all the land in their possession.

2. Fight back against discrimination

- Equal rights and equal opportunities for all.
- Abolish Affirmative Action and Black Economic Empowerment. Empowerment must be based on socio-economic conditions and not skin colour.
- Replace the current policy direction of redistribution with one focused on economic growth and development.
- Promote nation building by recognising community, language and cultural rights. Equal rights for minorities.
- Consistent action must be taken against hate speech, regardless of race, community etc.
- Realise communities' constitutional and internationally recognised right to self-determination.

3. Fight back against crime

- A government that takes the safety of its citizens seriously.
- Fight back by restoring the integrity and the functionality of the police service.
- Address the efficiency of the National Prosecuting Authority.
- Prioritise rural safety.

4. Fight back against corruption, misappropriation and excessive taxes and levies

- Expose and eradicate all forms of corruption and misappropriation.
- Prosecute officials and politicians implicated in corruption and other transgressions.
- Limit state expenditure.
- Privatisise state-owned entities.
- Increase state revenue by stimulating growth.
- Limit tax and levy increases so as to stimulate economic growth.
- Establish a fiscal commission.

5. Fight back against poor service delivery

- Establish a smaller local government system with more locally-focused functioning.
- Appoint public officials based on merit and address the lack of expertise in the public service.
- Prioritise infrastructure development and upkeep

Let us build a future together